

Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 H-03 PA-04 PRS-01 SS-20 RSC-01

/069 R

DRAFTED BY EA/PRCM:ADROMBERG:CED

APPROVED BY EA/PRCM:OVARMSRONG

EA/ROC:JLEONARD (SUBS.)

EA/P:AHROSEN

EUR/SOV:BZOOK (SUBS.)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

UNCLAS STATE 156980

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, CH

SUBJECT: SENATOR JACKSON'S PRESS CONFERENCE, JULY 8

REF: STATE 147106

1. FOLLOWING PORTIONS OF SENATOR JACKSON'S PRESS
CONFERENCE NOT INCLUDED IN REFTEL MAY BE OF INTEREST TO
ADDRESSEES.

2. (FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF NEED TO KEEP GUARD UP AND
CREDIBLE DETERRENT TO PREVENT SOVIET ATTACK AGAINST US AND
DISCUSSION OF "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE" OF LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY):
"CLEARLY, THE CONCERN OF THE CHINESE, WHILE TO A CERTAIN
EXTENT STARTED TO APPEAR PRIOR TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THERE CAN
BE NO DOUBT THAT WITH THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND
THE ENUNCIATION OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE OF LIMITED
SOVEREIGNTY--CLEARLY PUT THE CHINESE ON NOTICE THAT THEY
COULD BE DEALT WITH ON A MILITARY BASIS BY THE SOVIET
UNION. IT WAS AN UP-TO-DATE "MEIN KAMPF." AND THAT
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PRINCIPLE, AS WE ALL KNOW, IS VERY SIMPLE. AT TIMES, IN
DIPLOMACY, THE MOST EFFECTIVE FORM OF DECEPTION IS
CANDOR."

3. (IN SPEAKING OF PARALLELISM OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE US AND THE PRC): "AND IT WOULD SEEM THAT AS ONE LOOKS AT THE EURASIAN LAND MASS, AS ONE MUST, THE CHINESE ARE SAYING

THAT THEY ARE, IN EFFECT, AND I AM NOT/NOT QUOTING THEM-- BUT AS I READ THEIR THINKING AND THEIR EXPRESSIONS OVER A PERIOD OF TIME--AND BOLSTERED BY MY THOUGHTS--THAT THEY SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF ENCIRCLEMENT. AND THE EURASIAN LAND MASS IS THE CRITICAL AREA. THEREFORE THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT EUROPE. THEREFORE THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE INDIAN OCEAN. THEREFORE THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT JAPAN. THIS IS IN THEIR SELF-INTEREST, AND IT ALSO HAPPENS TO INVOLVE AREAS IN WHICH WE HAVE AN INTEREST."

4. (IN ELABORATION OF HIS ANSWER TO PRC REACTION TO HIS PROPOSAL TO SWITCH LIAISON OFFICE AND EMBASSY LOCATIONS): "QUESTION -- WAS IT YOUR IMPRESSION, SENATOR, THAT THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE CHINESE, IF WE MAINTAIN A LIAISON OFFICE WITH NATIONALIST CHINA AND WE WOULD NOT/HAVE TO SEVER RELATIONS, WE COULD AT THE SAME TIME MAINTAIN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC? ANSWER -- NO, I DIDN'T PRESS THIS POINT. THEY ARE AWARE OF IT, BUT I DIDN'T PRESS IT AND I DIDN'T ATTEMPT TO GET AN ANSWER. SOMETIMES IT'S A LOT BETTER NOT TO GET AN ANSWER. I FOUND THAT I GOT A BETTER FEEL IN CERTAIN SENSITIVE AREAS BY STATING MY POSITION RATHER CLEARLY, AND GIVING THEM AN OPPORTUNITY TO THINK ABOUT IT AND THEN WE WOULD GO ON TO SOMETHING ELSE WITHOUT A DIRECT RESPONSE."

5. (ON MFN FOR THE USSR): "EVERYONE SAYS I'M STUBBORN... I'M NOT. LOOK, I'VE MADE IT CLEAR FROM THE VERY BEGINNING THAT WHEN I INTRODUCED MY AMENDMENT, THAT IT DIDN'T MEAN THAT EVERYONE HAD TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION AT ONCE. THAT WAS NEVER MY POSITION, AND I HAVE SAID IT OVER AND OVER AGAIN. AND I HAVE SAID THAT THE REAL ISSUE WAS 'IS IT POSSIBLE FOR A PERSON TO APPLY FOR A VISA AND NOT UNCLASSIFIED

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LOSE THEIR JOB, OR TO HAVE THEIR CHILD DEALT WITH IN A DISCRIMINATORY WAY?' I HAVE NOT CHANGED MY BASIC APPROACH TO THIS ISSUE OR TO THIS QUESTION, AND I DON'T INTEND TO. BUT I DO BELIEVE THERE IS AN AREA IN WHICH THERE IS COMPROMISE AND--SHALL WE SAY 'NEGOTIATION WHICH CAN BRING COMPROMISE'--TO BE EFFECTUATED. I AM VERY PLEASED THAT THE MOVEMENT HAS COME FROM THE RUSSIANS EARLIER. NOW WHETHER THEY ARE GOING TO TAKE A MORE HARDENED POSITION AFTER THEIR CRUDE DISPLAY OF ARROGANCE-- EVEN TO THE WESTERN PRESS--WILL BE INTERESTING TO FOLLOW. BUT THEY ARE NOT GOING TO GET MFN UNLESS THEY SHOW SOME WILLINGNESS TO HONOR ARTICLE XVIII OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE

UN."

6. (IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ABOUT HOW THE TAIWAN QUESTION CAN BE SOLVED): "I DON'T KNOW. I THINK THAT THIS IS A MATTER THAT WILL BE--WELL, I AM GIVING YOU A FORTHRIGHT ANSWER. I JUST DON'T KNOW AT THIS POINT. I AM SUGGESTING THAT THEY CAN START BY NEGOTIATING, TAIPEI AND PEKING, TO COME TO A RESOLUTION OF THEIR DIFFERENCES. HOPEFULLY THAT WILL RESULT IN A FINAL SOLUTION OF THAT PROBLEM. AND I THINK THAT CAN BE DONE. I AM NOT/NOT SUGGESTING THAT WE BACK OUT ON OUR COMMITMENT ON THAT TREATY. I THINK WE ARE HONOR-BOUND BY THE TREATY. BUT THAT DOES NOT PREVENT US FROM CONVERTING THE OFFICE THERE TO A LIAISON OFFICE AND SENDING AN AMBASSADOR TO PEKING."

7. (ON MFN FOR THE PRC): "(QUESTION)--YOU WERE TALKING ABOUT MFN QUESTION FOR CHINA. COULD YOU JUST GIVE US A LITTLE CLARIFICATION ON THAT? YOU SAID THAT THE RUSSIANS TREATED OUR NEWSMEN BADLY, WHICH THEY DID, BUT OF COURSE THE CHINESE DON'T LET THEM IN AT ALL. (ANSWER)--WELL, I TRIED TO GET A NUMBER OF YOUR COLLEAGUES, MARILYN, TO GO ALONG WITH ME, BUT I WAS TURNED DOWN. BUT THEY BASE THAT ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE. (QUESTION)--BUT THE CHINESE ALSO, AS YOU ADMITTED, DON'T NECESSARILY LET THEIR PEOPLE OUT, YET YOU SOUNDED LIKE YOU MIGHT BE WILLING TO GIVE THEM MFN, WHILE YOUR AMENDMENT IS WRITTEN TO WITHHOLD IT FROM ALL COUNTRIES. (ANSWER)--NO. MFN DOES NOT/NOT APPLY UNCLASSIFIED

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TO--MY AMENDMENT DOES NOT/NOT APPLY TO CHINA. (QUESTION)--WHY NOT? (ANSWER)--BECAUSE IT APPLIES ONLY TO THE BLOC COUNTRIES WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE---- (QUESTION)--I THOUGHT IT APPLIED ESPECIALLY TO CHINA. (ANSWER)--NO, IT DOES NOT. CHINA IS SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED FROM IT. AND HAS NEVER BEEN, MARILYN, INCLUDED IN IT. WE HAVE NEVER INCLUDED IT."

8. (ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS): "(QUESTION)--I GOT THE IDEA, SENATOR JACKSON, THAT PEKING THOUGHT THAT ?ETENTE WAS POSSIBLE AT MOSCOW (SIC). (ANSWER)--WELL, THEY HAVE, IF I SAY 'DISTRUST' THAT'S AN UNDERSTATEMENT, OF THE SOVIET. THEY CAN RECITE CHAPTER AND VERSE WHERE THEY HAVE BROKEN THEIR WORD. THEY HAVE A TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP THAT WAS SIGNED 20 YEARS AGO, AND THEY HAVE NEVER, YOU KNOW, BEEN ABLE TO DEFINE PEACE OR FRIENDSHIP IN THIS PERIOD. AND I MUST SAY THAT IT WOULD BE MY JUDGMENT, AT THIS TIME, THAT BARRING SOME SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION, THE LIKELIHOOD OF A RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE RUSSIANS IS MOST REMOTE. THE CHINESE DON'T HESITATE TO EXPRESS THEIR FEELINGS AT WHATEVER LEVEL ONE MAY BE TALKING TO THEM ON THIS ISSUE."

9. (ON DISCUSSING CHOU EN-LAI'S ILLNESS): "LET ME JUST EXPLAIN. I WAS INVITED OUT TO SEE HIM. IT WAS A RATHER LARGE COMPLEX. I WAS USHERED INTO A WAITING ROOM, AND MET BY HIS AIDES AND THEN WALKED INTO THE NEXT ROOM

WHERE THERE WERE CHAIRS AND SORT OF A CONFERENCE ROOM, AND WE SAT DOWN AND HAD TEA, AND HAD A VERY FRIENDLY CHAT. THERE WAS NO HOSPITAL BED NEARBY, BUT IT WAS A PART OF A HOSPITAL COMPLEX, THAT I COULD SEE. NOW THERE MAY HAVE BEEN NEXT DOOR--I DIDN'T OPEN DOORS. HE WAS ABLE TO GET UP FROM HIS CHAIR, AND I WAS THE FIRST, I GATHER, WESTERN VISITOR, OR FOREIGN VISITOR THAT HE HAD SEEN SINCE MAY. AND HE GOT UP AND USHERED ME INTO THE WAITING ROOM WHERE WE HAD PICTURES TAKEN. HE MOVED AROUND WITHOUT ANY TROUBLE. BUT I MENTION THIS POINT (ABOUT CHOU'S HEALTH) BECAUSE THE SUCCESSION PROBLEM IN CHINA, I THINK, CAN BE A SERIOUS ONE, AND ITS IMPACT ON WORLD PEACE, THE COURSE OF EVENTS, COULD BE PROFOUND. AND WE UNCLASSIFIED

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MUST RECOGNIZE THAT FACT AT THIS POINT IN HISTORY.

10. (CONTINUING HIS DISCUSSION OF THE SUCCESSION PROBLEM): "HERE ARE TWO MEN (CHOU AND MAO) WHO HAVE MARCHED TOGETHER NOW FOR 50 YEARS, SINCE THE TWENTIES. AND THEY HAVE OUT-LIVED THE BIBLICAL ALLOTMENT, AND SOMETIME OR OTHER THESE THINGS COME TO AN END. AND OBVIOUSLY THERE ARE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, DIFFERENT FACTIONS. I HAVE NO FEEL FOR WHAT FACTION IS IN CONTROL. I WOULD POINT OUT THAT THE VICE PREMIER WHO, I SUPPOSE, IS REALLY IN THE ABSENCE OF THE PREMIER, MR. TENG, IS IN CHARGE WHEN THE PREMIER IS NOT HANDLING HIS AFFAIRS. AND HE HAS GONE THROUGH A RATHER TEMPESTUOUS ORDEAL OF, I THINK, SOME FOUR YEARS OF HOUSE ARREST AND/OR OTHER TREATMENT, WHICH IS AN OUTGROWTH, OR SHALL WE SAY ONE OF THE SIDE EFFECTS, OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. AND THERE ARE THESE DIFFERENT FACTIONS. AND WHAT WILL HAPPEN, I DON'T KNOW. BUT THIS, IN THE YEAR 1974-75, I THINK THERE ARE GOING TO BE IMPORTANT MATTERS TO FOLLOW, AND WE WILL JUST HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE."

11. (TRANSCRIPT IS INCOMPLETE BUT THERE IS DISCUSSION OF JACKSON'S DESIRE TO GO BACK TO THE PRC TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE ON SUCH QUESTION AS ARMS CONTROL AND US MILITARY POSTURE IN EUROPE.)

12. (IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ABOUT SOVIET PRESSURE ON IRAN AND PAKISTAN): "THE CHINESE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SUBCONTINENT. THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SALAMI

TACTICS THAT ARE BEING APPLIED TO PAKISTAN, THE DIS-MEMBERMENT OF IT. THEY SEE THIS, I THINK, AS A PART OF THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF THEIR COUNTRY. AND THEY ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THOSE DEVELOPMENTS. WE DID NOT GET INTO SPECIFICS, BUT THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT ENCIRCLEMENT. AND THEY SEE THE INDIAN OCEAN AS AN AREA OF SUBSTANTIAL INVOLVEMENT, AND THEY ARE FOLLOWING THOSE SITUATIONS VERY CLOSELY, AND THAT INCLUDES THE PERSIAN GULF. THEY SEE THE ANCIENT DREAMS OF THE CZARS FOR WARM WATER PORTS. AS YOU KNOW, THEY HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY FRIENDLY TO PERSIA--
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IRAN--AND, AGAIN, THIS IS AN AREA, OF COURSE, THAT INVOLVES THE UNITED STATES."

13. (ON US-PRC RELATIONS): "LET ME JUST MAKE ONE OTHER OBSERVATION. THAT AS WE MOVE INTO THIS PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY ABOUT SUCCESSION, I THINK POINTS UP THE NEED TO INSTITUTIONALIZE OUR ARRANGEMENTS WITH CHINA SO THAT WE DO NOT TIE THESE THINGS TOGETHER ON THE BASIS OF PERSONALITY CULTS, ON THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL LEADERS ALONE, THAT WE NEED TO ESTABLISH CERTAIN INSTITUTIONS THAT CAN BRING THE COUNTRIES CLOSER TOGETHER."

14. (ON THE MIDDLE EAST): "WELL, THE CHINESE FORMALLY SUPPORT THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION GROUP. THEY FORMALLY UPPOORT THE ARAB COUNTRIES AGAINST ISRAEL. I SAID 'FORMALLY.' AND HOW MUCH IT GOES BEYOND THAT, I WAS NOT ABLE TO ASCERTAIN."
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, LAW, PRESS CONFERENCES, POLITICAL SITUATION, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 JUL 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE156980
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA/PRCM:ADROMBERG:CED
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D740196-0589
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740789/abbryzrr.tel
Line Count: 251
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 147106
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 OCT 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 OCT 2002 by ThomasVJ>; APPROVED <22 JAN 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SENATOR JACKSON'S PRESS CONFERENCE, JULY 8
TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, US, TW, (JACKSON)
To: PEKING
HONG KONG
TAIPEI
MOSCOW
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005